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“Placed under no disqualification” - Women Artists in She-Town

Matthew Jarron, University of Dundee

For most of the period under discussion in this journal, Dundee was known as a women's town. Thanks to the nature of the jute industry, more married women were in employment there than in any other Scottish city – in 1911, for example, the figure was 23.4%, compared to just 5.5% in Glasgow and 5.1% in Edinburgh.¹ As such, Dundee became an important centre of the female trade union movement, the women's suffrage movement and the First World War rent strikes. The city would go on to boast one of Scotland's first policewomen, one of the first female MPs, and the first female University professor. This paper therefore seeks to explore the role of women in the city's rapidly developing art scene in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. To begin with, it is worth considering the various factors that helped to encourage and support the careers of women artists in Dundee

Press Interest in Women Artists

By the late 19th century, journalism had grown into a significant industry in the city, with two massive newspaper empires (DC Thomson and John Leng) competing to win over an ever-expanding readership.² Leng was the first to recognise the need to attract female readers, and in 1881 Jessie M King joined the staff of the *Evening Telegraph* under the pen-name 'Marguerite', reputedly becoming the first woman to be employed regularly as a reporter on a daily paper in Britain.³ Thomson followed in 1888, employing 'Marie' (F Marie Imandt) to write for the *Courier*.⁴ They would be the first in a growing number of journalists writing on women's affairs for Dundee's newspapers and magazines. Art was a key interest for them, and they regularly reported on women artists exhibiting their work in Dundee or further afield. They made sure that readers were aware of the activities of the Society of Women Artists in London and the Scottish Society of Women Artists in Edinburgh. They were also repeatedly vocal in encouraging more women to pursue art in the public sphere. In the *Evening Telegraph* in 1898 Marguerite wrote provocatively:

“It has frequently occurred to me to wonder why it is that girls who have received an art training... and have, besides, a decided artistic bent, do not more often turn their knowledge and skill to practical account. Most often they seem to rest content with the production of decorative trifles either for bazaars or not above the bazaar standard of art; and in their wildest dreams they never soar above plaques and milking stools”.⁵

A year later, Elsie Maynard wrote in her regular 'Women Workers' column for the *Piper o' Dundee* magazine:

"It is a pity that so many clever girl artists should have so little confidence in their own abilities as to keep back really exquisite work from exhibition, feeling that it is unworthy for public view. There are many girls I could name who have paintings hanging on their home walls just now that ought to be speaking from the walls of the Art Galleries of the talents of their authoresses."⁶

In her 'Lines for Ladies' column in the *Piper* two years later, Maggie Lauder wondered if a more practical cause was responsible for the reluctance of some women to practise art seriously: "Is it the terrible cycling mania that is absolutely all the attention of the ladies? Not that I would frown on cycling, only, sometimes, I cannot help fancying that athletics are being a little overdone to the disadvantage of art."⁷

Male Artists' Support for Women

Another advantage was that several of the leading male artists in Dundee were active supporters of women's rights – in particular Stewart Carmichael and Alec Grieve, who married the sisters Marion and Emma Willis.⁸ In 1896 their elder sister Susan became one of the first two female Inspectors of Schools in Britain.

Grieve and Carmichael both depicted notable women in their art. In 1909 Grieve received considerable acclaim for his portrait of Agnes Husband, a member of the Dundee School Board and honorary president of the Dundee branch of the Independent Labour Party. The portrait was presented to the city's permanent collection the following year after a subscription movement that included the ILP, the Dundee Social Union and the Women's Enfranchisement Movement (Husband was also a noted suffragist). It was the first presentation portrait of a woman to enter the collection.

In 1902 Carmichael exhibited the design for a mural called *The Scottish Heroines*, depicting notable women through history. He also painted portraits of some important contemporary women in Dundee, including mystic poet Rachael Annand Taylor and the future nationalist Wendy Wood, who worked as an illustrator in the city in the 1920s.

There was also strong support among Dundee's male artists for women's suffrage. In 1906, the etcher and painter Frank Laing chaired a packed meeting in Tayport (which Alec Grieve also attended) at which a motion for enfranchisement of women was carried unanimously.⁹ The local

branch of the Women's Freedom League also held their meetings in the Dundee Art Society's rooms for several years.

Art Education – Women as Students and Teachers

The ready availability of art training also increased the opportunities open to women artists. The Dundee School of Art opened in 1856 under the Government-funded South Kensington system and women were able to attend from the start. Evening art classes open to both sexes were also taught under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association from 1875 and the Dundee School Board from 1877. All of these would eventually cease to operate due to the overwhelming success of the Dundee Technical Institute, which taught drawing classes from its inception in 1888 and advanced day classes in art from 1893.¹⁰ Again women were allowed to study there from the beginning, although as a technical college its clientele was largely male and dominated by trainee engineers, mechanics and architects. Despite this, the number of women students gradually increased, particularly after 1909-10 when the organisation was reformed as Dundee Technical College & School of Art and moved to much larger premises.

While female art students were numerous, there were far fewer female art teachers in Dundee. The first woman employed at the original School of Art was Christina Foggie, who was taken on as a pupil assistant in 1898. It was not until 1912 that the art school at the Technical College employed its first female member of staff, embroidery tutor Edith Cheyne.¹¹ More forward-thinking, perhaps, was the new University College, Dundee (now the University of Dundee), which had been founded in 1881 by a woman (Mary Ann Baxter), one of its founding principles being that it would offer education equally to students of both sexes. In 1889 a Fine Art department was established at the College and Miss Patti Jack (Figs.1 & 2) was appointed to run it. Originally from Dumfries & Galloway, Jack had taken lessons from the painters John and Thomas Faed before going on to study at the Académie Julian in Paris and at Herkomer's School in England.¹² By the time she came to teach in Dundee she had already exhibited for some years at the Dundee Fine Exhibitions as well as the Royal Academy and the Royal Scottish Academy. Her appointment marked the first time that a woman was employed to run a class at the University, but her teaching was not linked to any formal qualification. This at least had the advantage of freedom from the South Kensington system, and Jack's classes quickly became popular. In 1900, however, she emigrated to Canada, where she quickly became a prominent part of artistic life in Ottawa.

Many other women worked as private tutors, usually giving classes in their own studios. Perhaps the most notable was Emma Sinclair (Fig.1), who taught decorative art classes starting in 1897. Originally from Caithness, Sinclair first made her name as an amateur woodcarver in Perth,

where her husband worked as a teacher. His premature death forced her to turn professional to make a living and she moved to Dundee, while also making regular visits to London to study at South Kensington. Within a few years she was described as “a force to be reckoned with in artistic circles.”¹³ Her daughter Lily was also an artist, but the two left Dundee for Edinburgh in 1911.¹⁴

Women in Art Societies

In 1880, Dundee’s artists – both amateur and professional – banded together for the first time by forming the Dundee Art Club to promote their mutual interests. The Club’s earliest surviving membership list dates from 1883, and of the 20 names listed, just two are women (one of whom, Jane Spindler, will be described later). More gradually followed, however, and by 1885, 11 of the Club’s 32 members were women.¹⁵

In 1890 the Art Club was replaced by the more formal and professionally run Graphic Arts Association, which still survives today as Dundee Art Society. Notably, the group of artists, designers and architects who came together to form the society were all men, but at one of their first meetings it was resolved “that Ladies be placed under no disqualification”.¹⁶ While this curious use of a double negative might tend to suggest that they weren’t actively welcoming to women artists, eight had joined by the end of the society’s first year and many more would follow. In 1893 the Association staged its first annual exhibition, and several women were significant contributors, including the painter and sculptor Margaret Suttie (Fig.1). As the Association’s first professional female artist, Suttie was also the first woman invited onto the exhibition hanging committee in 1895.

Suttie could more appropriately be termed one of the ‘Glasgow Girls’, for (according to the *Celtic Annual*), “she was fellow student and friend of E A Walton... and others of that school, when the ‘Glasgow Boys’ were making their name.”¹⁷ She came to Dundee in 1893 and is best known for her plaster bust of the artist Stewart Carmichael (Fig.3), shown at the Graphic Arts Association exhibition in 1895. Writing in the *Courier*, Marie Imandt described it as “powerful and bold in its modelling... [I]t is, above all, fresh and original, refined and artistic.”¹⁸ It certainly became a prized possession of Carmichael’s and featured in his 1947 *Self Portrait in the Artist’s Studio* (Dundee’s Art Galleries & Museums). By 1897 Suttie had returned to Glasgow by 1897 and later moved to Orkney.¹⁹

Perhaps predictably, it was also the Association’s female members who took charge of the various social aspects of its activities – decorating its rooms and organising conversaziones and ‘At Home’ events to accompany its exhibitions. But while these women were seemingly happy to play the traditional domestic role within an artistic context, some of them were far more progressive in

other aspects of their lives, and three in particular are worthy of special notice here.

Women Artists as Activists

Margaret Hardinge Irwin (Fig.1) was born at sea in 1858, the daughter of a master mariner, and grew up in Broughty Ferry. In 1880 she was awarded the LLA degree for women at St Andrews University and in the same year she began to exhibit at the Dundee Fine Art Exhibitions. She later joined Dundee Art Club and became an art teacher at Miss Buchan's School for girls in the Nethergate. In 1887-89 she studied at Glasgow School of Art, also taking classes in Political Economy at Queen Margaret College.²⁰ She developed a keen interest in working conditions and in 1891 was appointed by the Scottish branch of the Women's Protective & Provident League as its full-time organiser and soon after she became one of four women assistant commissioners (and the only one for Scotland) responsible for compiling information on conditions of working women on behalf of the Royal Commission on Labour.

In 1895 Irwin was made secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, where she played an important role in the formation of a separate Scottish Trades Union Congress, which she became secretary of in 1897. She campaigned and lectured tirelessly for workers' rights and was awarded the CBE in 1927. She died at her home in Glasgow in 1940.

While Irwin carried out much of her work in Glasgow, Minnie Kynoch (Figs.1 & 4) spent most of her career in Dundee. The sister of obstetrician John Campbell Kynoch, she was born in Forres and moved to Dundee with her brother when he was appointed to Dundee Royal Infirmary in 1889. She joined the Graphic Arts Association in 1893 and exhibited paintings there regularly for over 20 years, twice serving on its council. In 1905 she showed her work at the RSA for the first time, and soon after she began to demonstrate a growing social conscience through her involvement in the Brabazon Employment Society, which helped women in workhouses to find useful employment through handicrafts (in Kynoch's case by teaching them woodcarving).²¹

In the 1910s she became more actively involved in public affairs and in 1914 was elected to the Dundee School Board. During the war she was a member of the Dundee Food Control and Food Economy committees and in 1918 was awarded an MBE for her efforts. After the war she became a Justice of the Peace, a Commissioner of the Dundee Girl Guides and a director of Dundee Royal Infirmary. In 1942 she was elected President of the Dundee branch of the National Council of Women, and she died in 1950.

Undoubtedly the most radical of Dundee's artist activists was Ethel Moorhead (Fig.1). Born in Kent in 1869, her father was an army surgeon and as a result she had a peripatetic childhood in India, Mauritius and South Africa before the family eventually settled in Dundee, by which time

Moorhead had already studied art in Paris. She joined the Graphic Arts Association in 1900 and became a significant contributor to its exhibitions. Critics quickly noted that her work was more progressive than that of other female artists – the *Piper o' Dundee* described her as “an artistic ‘new woman.’ She has shaken off the Christmas card traditions that bind so many of her sisters, and faces reality with open vision.”²²

In 1902 Moorhead exhibited at the RSA for the first time, but the death of her mother later that year left her less time for painting. Further tragedy struck in 1910 when her sister Alice (one of Dundee's first female GPs) died at an early age. It was after this that she began to get involved in the women's suffrage movement, joining the Women's Social & Political Union. Her first recorded action was in December 1910 when she threw an egg at Winston Churchill (then one of the city's MPs) during a political meeting.

Following her father's death in 1912, she became increasingly militant in her activities, causing havoc in London, Edinburgh and Aberdeen among other places.²³ She served the first of several prison sentences in Perth, and in 1914 became the first suffragette to be force-fed in a Scottish prison, this time in Edinburgh. It is believed that she was Fanny Parker's accomplice in the attempted arson attack on Robert Burns' cottage in July 1914 – if so it was probably her last militant activity before the suffragettes suspended their actions on the outbreak of war.²⁴ Moorhead undertook relief work during the war, then sold her house in Dundee and moved to Dublin and other places before eventually settling in Paris in the early 1920s. There she founded and co-edited a literary and art journal, *This Quarter*, along with the poet Ernest Walsh (Fig.5). This brought her into contact with leading avant-garde artists and writers of the time, including Francis Picabia, Wyndham Lewis, Constantin Brancusi, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein and James Joyce. Moorhead eventually returned to Ireland where she died in 1955.

Although Moorhead was the only Dundee artist who openly supported the militant side of the suffrage movement, several were actively involved in promoting women's rights through more peaceful means. One such was the Steeple Club, a society formed during the Great War to promote the role of women in civic life. Minnie Kynoch was one of the Club's committee members, and the painter Edith Macintyre (Fig.1) was its secretary. In 1918 she organised Dundee's first group exhibition of work entirely by women artists, intended to raise money for the Dundee Prisoners of War Fund. As well as local talent, work was lent by prominent women across the country, including Kate Cameron, Mabel Royds and Emily Paterson.²⁵ But it was Macintyre and Kynoch who were described by the *People's Journal* as “the two outstanding representatives” of women's art.²⁶ Particular praise was given to Macintyre's portrait of the Steeple Club's chair Mary Henderson in her uniform of the Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Careers Cut Short

Before going on to look at the careers of some of Dundee's most successful women artists, it is worth noting some of those whose artistic careers came to an abrupt end when they got married – one can only speculate what they might have achieved had they continued.

Leila Fleming and Helen Batchelor both showed their work in the first Graphic Arts Association exhibition in 1893. Batchelor (Fig.1) studied at Dundee School of Art and Fleming at University College, while taking art lessons from the local painter and printmaker E S Hodgson. Both also showed work in the Dundee Fine Art Exhibitions and other shows, and Batchelor earned a solo feature in the *Piper o' Dundee*, which praised her "ability in the roles of portrait and landscape painting."²⁷ Fleming married in 1898 and Batchelor in 1901 and neither ever exhibited again.

For some artists, marriage brought a new career. Dora Fay (Fig.1) studied at Dundee School of Art in the 1880s, exhibiting landscape and still life paintings in the Art Club and Dundee Fine Art Exhibitions.²⁸ As with so many artists at this time, she was also a talented musician, serving for several years as organist at St Andrews Pro-Cathedral. She also taught classes in piano, harmonium and organ before marrying solicitor James Urquhart in 1891. Her life was transformed when he became Lord Provost in 1908 and then earned a knighthood in 1914.²⁹ As Lady Urquhart she chaired charitable committees and entertained distinguished figures, but still maintained her interest in art, even persuading her husband to act as President of Dundee Art Society for two years, though he rarely attended its meetings.

It is worth pointing out that not all women had to abandon their artistic careers on getting married – the decorative artists Nell Baxter and Alice Ure Wilson, for example, continued to exhibit and sell their work as Mrs Kippen and Mrs Smart respectively.³⁰ There are even examples of women whose professional careers only began after they married, usually because they married other artists. The most notable was Anna Dawson, who married the watercolourist James Douglas in 1890 and under his guidance had a successful career as a painter, specialising in portrait miniatures. She exhibited at the RSA from 1894 and the RA from 1901. The following year she was elected to the Society of Miniaturists in London.³¹

Women as Decorative Artists

The fashion for decorative art that developed at the end of the 19th century was a significant boon for female artists in Dundee. The primary catalyst came in 1897 when the painter John Duncan returned to his native city after several years working with Patrick Geddes on decorative art projects in Edinburgh. From his studio, Duncan set up an informal school of design, teaching art and

decoration to a group of young artists, most of whom were women – they included Nell Baxter (who had worked with Duncan in Edinburgh), her sister Rose and Duncan’s sister Jessie Westbrook. They first showed their work publicly in the 1899 Graphic Arts exhibition, for which Duncan was tasked with arranging an “ornamental section”.³² Its success led to a regular decorative and applied art section of the exhibition, encouraging many more women to show their work. When Duncan left Dundee for Chicago in 1900, a special Decorative Art Section of the Association was formed, and others such as Emma Sinclair, Alice Ure Wilson and Stewart Carmichael’s wife Marion also became actively involved. This burst of talent soon began to be recognised by the city authorities. In 1907, Emma Sinclair received a commission from the Town Council to create a carved shield to represent Dundee at the Royal Caledonian Society of London, while in 1908 the Lord Provost commissioned a new civic banner for the city, embroidered by Marion Carmichael, Rose Baxter and Elizabeth Laing.³³

Women as Newspaper Artists

As well as pioneering the role of the ‘lady journalist’, the Dundee press also led the way in the introduction of regular illustrations in newspapers.³⁴ Leng and Thomson both began to employ ‘lady artists’ in the 1900s – Jean C Rollo began work at John Leng & Co around 1908, having previously studied art at the Technical Institute. She would go on to work there for 21 years.³⁵

DC Thomson had three lady artists on its staff by 1910 – Ruby Scott, Agnes Nicoll and Meta Mitchell (Fig.6), all still teenagers when they joined the company. As well as working together the three also attended evening classes at the Technical College & School of Art. One of Scott’s sketchbooks still exists (private collection) featuring numerous fashion sketches alongside life drawings. Her career lasted until 1925 when she married fellow newspaper artist Frank Coutts and had to give up her job.

Women as Painters

Several successful female painters have already been mentioned here, but the careers of two in particular will be described here. Jane Spindler (Fig.1) was born in Dundee in 1856. Her father was a professional musician and her brother James also became a highly successful landscape painter. She began exhibiting at the RSA in 1879 and was soon showing regularly at the Dundee Fine Art Exhibitions and the Dundee Art Club as well as in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Landscape scenes became her speciality and in the late 1880s she established a studio in Blairgowrie. In 1895 she held her first major exhibition, with over a hundred pieces at the Dundee Auction Rooms in Ward Road.

It marked the first solo show by a female artist in Dundee. Critics praised her “keen perception of fine colour and a vivid interest in nature’s moods.”³⁶ Her work has a colourful, impressionistic quality comparable to some of the Glasgow Boys, and quite different to the moody moonlit scenes for which her brother became known. She held another Dundee exhibition in 1900, but after James’s death in 1917 she largely confined her activities to Blairgowrie and Edinburgh. She died in 1939.

Edith Macintyre was born in Monifieth in 1872 and joined the Graphic Arts Association in 1896, having studied in Dundee under painter Alec Grieve as well as in London and Bournemouth. In 1905 she formed a “committee of lady members” to organise an exhibition of decorative art in the Art Society’s rooms.³⁷ During the Great War, she became a founder member of the Steeple Club and also served as Treasurer for the local branch of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies.

In 1925 she became the first female President of Dundee Art Society, and her work began to attract more critical attention. By the end of the 1920s she had abandoned her conventional style of landscape painting and instead adopted a bolder approach, seemingly inspired by the Colourists. She was now exhibiting in Edinburgh, London and Paris, and in 1929 was featured in the French arts magazine *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, the writer praising her “captivating” oil *A Sunlit Garden* showing in that year’s RSA exhibition as “a painting with great sincerity; it reveals a talent of the most frankly personal kind – ‘modern’ in the true sense of the word”.³⁸ The following year the *Evening Telegraph* described her “artistic bravado” and “unashamed...modernism”.³⁹ For six years in a row she had work selected for the Paris Salon, and she died in 1949.⁴⁰

By the time of Macintyre’s major successes in the 1920s and 30s, Dundee had changed significantly since the early days of the Art Club in the 1880s. The status of women generally had changed even more dramatically. What this paper has sought to demonstrate is that, perhaps more than any other Scottish city, Dundee (known for many years as ‘She-Town’) had throughout this period been welcoming and supportive of women artists, and had fostered some considerable talent, about which more research is undoubtedly needed.

Image captions:

1. Portraits of women artists in Dundee. Clockwise from top left: Emma Sinclair, Margaret Irwin, Jane Spindler, Minnie Kynoch, Helen Batchelor, Patti Jack, Ethel Moorhead, Edith Macintyre, Margaret Suttie, Dora Fay.

Courtesy of DC Thomson & Co Ltd / private collections

2. Patti Jack, *Untitled Landscape (Fort William, Ottawa River)*, 1900s, watercolour on paper.
University of Dundee Museum Services
3. Margaret Suttie, *Stewart Carmichael*, 1895, plaster bust.
Dundee Art Society; photograph by the author
4. Minnie Kynoch, *The Windmill*, reproduced in *The Mealpoke*, 1903.
University of Dundee Archive Services
5. Ethel Moorhead, *Design*, reproduced in *This Quarter*, 1925.
Private Collection
6. 'Lady artists' at the Courier – Ruby Scott, Agnes Nicoll and Meta Mitchell, 1910s.
Private Collection

Author's biography:

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¹ A.W. Paton & A.H. Millar (eds.), *British Association: Handbook and Guide to Dundee and District*, Dundee 1912, p.69.

² Thomson acquired a controlling interest in John Leng & Co following the death of John Leng in 1906 and the two companies ultimately merged in 1926.

³ The claim is made in *The Piper o' Dundee* 24/4/1901 and by King herself in the *Evening Telegraph* 15/3/1927.

⁴ In 1894 Thomson initiated a unique enterprise in women's journalism, sending Imandt and Bessie Maxwell on a tour round the world to report on the role of women in other countries. This extraordinary endeavour is described in Susan Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies: A Tour Round the World by DC Thomson's Female Journalists in 1894*, Dundee, 2012.

⁵ *Evening Telegraph* 19/10/1898.

⁶ *The Piper o' Dundee* 19/4/1899.

⁷ *The Piper o' Dundee* 24/4/1901.

⁸ Marion Carmichael became one of the leading decorative artists in Dundee and an active member of the Art Society.

⁹ *Dundee Courier* 6/10/1906. This was all the more remarkable since Tayport was part of the East Fife constituency held by H H Asquith, who was notably opposed to the cause.

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- ¹⁰ A detailed history of art education at this time can be found in chapter six of Matthew Jarron, *Independent & Individualist: Art in Dundee 1867-1924*, Dundee, 2015. The art school at the Technical Institute would ultimately become today's Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design.
- ¹¹ Cheyne had previously studied at Gray's School of Art in Aberdeen. She left in 1920 on getting married.
- ¹² *Dundee Courier* 9/4/1889 and *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser* 27/3/1908.
- ¹³ From an *Evening Telegraph* feature on her c.1905 under the heading 'Representative Women', from Stewart Carmichael's newspaper scrapbook volume two (Dundee City Archives).
- ¹⁴ Elizabeth (aka Lily) Sinclair studied at Glasgow School of Art and in Paris, and later married the art collector and curator Duncan Macdonald (*Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 14/1/1943).
- ¹⁵ Dundee Art Club exhibition catalogues are held in Dundee Central Library, Local History Centre.
- ¹⁶ Graphic Arts Association Minute Book 18/2/1890 (University of Dundee Archive Services).
- ¹⁷ Anon, 'Dundee Artists', *Celtic Annual* 1918-19 p17.
- ¹⁸ *Dundee Courier* 6/6/1895.
- ¹⁹ She returned to Dundee to show three flower paintings at the 1918 Dundee Art Society exhibition.
- ²⁰ Much of this information is drawn from her entry by Eleanor Gordon and Campbell F Lloyd in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
- ²¹ *Dundee Courier* 28/4/1906.
- ²² *The Piper o' Dundee* 8/5/1901.
- ²³ Full details of her various activities can be found in Leah Leneman, *Martyrs in our Midst: Dundee, Perth and the Forcible Feeding of Suffragettes*, Dundee, 1993.
- ²⁴ In her entry for Moorhead in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Leah Leneman says that it "seems certain" that Moorhead was involved in the Burns cottage incident.
- ²⁵ *Dundee Courier* 9/8/1918. Paterson was then one of the most famous women artists in the country, particularly after the Princess of Wales bought one of her watercolours from the Society of Women Artists' exhibition in London in 1909. Paterson's parents were actually from Dundee and she had previously had an exhibition of her work at Robert Scott's gallery in Albert Square.
- ²⁶ *People's Journal* 10/8/1918.
- ²⁷ *The Piper o' Dundee* 12/7/1893.
- ²⁸ *Dundee Courier* 27/6/1884.
- ²⁹ *Dundee Courier* 22/6/1914.
- ³⁰ Baxter's career is discussed in chapter three of Jarron (see n.10).
- ³¹ *Dundee Courier* 27/2/1902.
- ³² Graphic Arts Association Minute Book 5/12/1898 (University of Dundee Archive Services).
- ³³ The commissions are described in *Evening Telegraph* 19/4/1907 and 13/6/1908.
- ³⁴ In 1880 the *Dundee Advertiser* became the first daily paper in Britain to employ a regular staff artist.
- ³⁵ *Evening Telegraph* 25/2/1935.
- ³⁶ *Dundee Courier* 27/4/1897.
- ³⁷ Dundee Art Society Minute Book 28/4/1905 (University of Dundee Archive Services).
- ³⁸ *Revue du Vrai et du Beau* 25/7/1929 p12 (my translation).
- ³⁹ *Evening Telegraph* 15/4/1930.
- ⁴⁰ *Dundee Courier* 31/12/1949.